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# SUPPLEMENTARY PAPER

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## The Education and Training of Slaves in Antiquity

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Slavery is an institution that was taken for granted by the Greeks and Romans, with whom the present paper is exclusively concerned, and for that matter by all the ancient peoples of the Mediterranean. Masters and slaves alike accepted it without challenge, regarding it as appropriate and even necessary within the framework of decent civilization.<sup>1</sup> Like other things that the ancients took for granted, slavery is seldom discussed in the surviving literature, and almost never for more than a dozen consecutive pages. Not one separate treatise on slavery and its problems exists in Greek or Latin, and little is known to have been written. Slavery interlaced the ancient world *un peu partout*, but about such a vast and ubiquitous component of human society the silence was portentous.<sup>2</sup>

If the lot of slaves was not always happy and was sometimes downright unhappy, it still is not true that slaves were generally mistreated and abused. If our deep pity is aroused for the slaves who toiled in the silver mines of Laurium and other mines elsewhere, and for those who toiled and died in the quarries of Syracuse, yet we know that most public slaves, factory workers, and domestics were handled with fairness or even leniency. Slave revolts were rare in the Greek world, because there was no widespread and lasting and

<sup>1</sup> Roman law held that slavery was contrary to the *ius naturale* but was fully warranted by the *ius gentium*: W. W. Buckland, *The Roman Law of Slavery* (Cambridge 1908) 1.

<sup>2</sup> Universally acknowledged as the foremost student of ancient slavery is William Linn Westermann (obit 1954). His comprehensive discussion appeared in 1935, s.v. "Sklaverei," *RE* Suppl. 6.894–1068. Twenty years later this article was amplified and brought up to date in a full-size volume, published posthumously: *The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity*, Philadelphia 1955 (*Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society* 40). For generalizations and special points I am indebted to Westermann far more than the footnotes will reveal.

galling provocation to revolt.<sup>3</sup> On the average slaves were less well treated by the Romans than by the Greeks, and some pages of Roman history are blackened by frightful insurrections quelled by frightful means. But the heartlessness of Cato is counterbalanced by the kindness of Pliny, and the atrocities of the *ergastulum* and *pistrinum* need not blind us to the amenities of the *familia urbana*.

The countless examples of educated and even learned slaves come tumbling into the recollection of every classical scholar. There was even a treatise written in the time of Hadrian by Hermippus of Berytus, himself an ex-slave, *Περὶ τῶν ἐν παιδείᾳ διαπρεψάντων δούλων*.<sup>4</sup> If this treatise survived, it would be a chief source for the present essay. The inevitable question arises: how were these slaves educated, if there was no provision for their education? Part of the answer, to be sure, is already to hand: great numbers of slaves were freeborn and were fully educated before the fortunes of war or the misfortunes of piracy or other untoward circumstances reduced them to slavery.

But many individual cases are known, and these are symptomatic, where a respectable or good education was achieved by those who were born and reared as slaves. Here lies the heart of our problem, a problem that has enjoyed very little attention. Marrou in the best existing history of ancient education, written as recently as 1948, was quite right in declaring: "L'éducation des esclaves grecs, à ma connaissance, n'a pas fait l'objet d'une enquête systématique."<sup>5</sup> While this is true, five articles that are largely or wholly germane to our subject have been published by Westermann, Préaux, Zambon, Herzog, and Mohler, and these are now listed in a footnote for abbreviated reference hereafter.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Revolts in Delos, Attica, and elsewhere about 100 B.C.: Diod. 34/35.2.19; Ath. 6.272E.

<sup>4</sup> Suidas s.v. *Ἰστρος*. The treatise filled at least two books, since Suidas cited from Book II. In *Elym. Magn.* p. 118, 14 we seemingly have a slightly garbled reference to the same title by Hermippus. See Th. Heibges, s.v. "Hermippus" (12), *RE* 8.853 f.; Christ-Schmid 2.868.

<sup>5</sup> H. I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* (Paris 1948) 495. Marrou proceeds to offer an excellent page of information and references. Hereafter his book will be cited simply by author and page.

<sup>6</sup> References solely by author and page will be made to these five capital articles, in whose generous shadow many of the following pages have been written: Westermann = W. L. Westermann, "Apprentice Contracts and the Apprentice System in Roman Egypt," *CP* 9 (1914) 293-315 (condensed in a more popular form under the title "Vocational Training in Antiquity," *School Review* 22 (1914) 601-10). Préaux = Claire Préaux, "Lettres privées grecques relatives à l'éducation," *Revue belge de philologie et*

## I. POLICIES REGARDING SERVILE EDUCATION

Pride in their freedom caused the Greeks to guard rather jealously certain perquisites of free men, and among these was a liberal education. The education in which the Greeks gloried was the education of free men.<sup>7</sup> Although Plato in unmistakable terms advocated a liberal education, we find the exact phrase, παιδεία ἐλευθέριος, first in Aristotle.<sup>8</sup> Seneca<sup>9</sup> clearly stated the etymology and raison d'être: *quae liberalia studia dicta sunt vides: quia homine libero digna sunt*. Legal documents corroborate what we read in literature; a Greek of Oxyrhynchus in the reign of Domitian agreed in his marriage contract to give the children τὴν πρέπουσαν ἐλευθέροις παισὶ παιδείαν (*POxy.* 265.24).

The propriety of educating slaves was scarcely a topic for discussion in the laws of the Greeks, for obviously a slave had no legal right whatsoever to enjoy educational privileges. Seneca (*Ben.* 3.21.2) states a principle that was valid equally in Roman civilization and in Greek: a master had an obligation to feed and clothe his slave, and he might, purely as a favor, go farther and give the slave a freeman's education. While such generous treatment of a slave was not debarred by law,<sup>10</sup> the more prevalent custom was to exclude slaves by definition from a liberal education, though not from literacy and vocational training. Thus Paulus declared that a husband who has crafts (*artes*) taught to his wife's slaves may rightfully defray the cost from her dowry as a useful expense, enhancing her property's value.<sup>11</sup>

*d'histoire* 8 (1929) 757–800. Zambon = Angela Zambon, "Διδασκαλικά," *Aegyptus* 15 (1935) 3–66 (her supplementary article, "Ancora sulle Διδασκαλικά," *ibid.* 19 [1939] 100–102, offers no further examples of slave apprentices). Herzog = Rudolph Herzog, "Urkunden zur Hochschulpolitik der römischen Kaiser," *SBBerl.* 32 (1935) 967–1019. Mohler = Samuel L. Mohler, "Slave Education in the Roman Empire," *TAPA* 71 (1940) 262–80. Marrou knew all these articles, but Mohler had not learned of the exceedingly valuable article of Herzog. Helpful at many points is Johnson = A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt (An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome, vol. 2)* 1936. There is a short section on the training of slaves and apprentices in C. A. Forbes, "Teachers' Pay in Ancient Greece," *Univ. Neb. Stud. in the Humanities* 2 (Lincoln 1942) 39 f.

<sup>7</sup> Philod. *Rhet.* 2.54.3: ὅσα παῖδες ἐλεύθεροι μεμαθηκώς; *ibid.* 2.95.6: τὰς ἐλευθέρῳ πεποῦσας ἐνπειρίας ἢ ἐπιτηδεύσεις.

<sup>8</sup> Aristot. *Pol.* 8.3.1, 1338a.30–32: ὅτι μὲν τοῖνυν ἔστι παιδεία τις ἣν οὐχ ὡς χρησίμην παιδευτέον τοὺς υἱεῖς οὐδ' ὡς ἀναγκαίαν ἀλλ' ὡς ἐλευθέριον καὶ καλὴν, φανερόν ἐστιν.

<sup>9</sup> Sen. *Ep.* 88.2. Cf. *Digest* 50.13.1 pr.: Liberalia autem studia accipimus quae Graeci ἐλευθέρια appellant.

<sup>10</sup> *Digest* 21.1.65.1: nec (servum) ob id veteratorem esse, si liberalibus studiis eruditus sit.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* 25.1.6.

In the classical period of Athens the educated slaves were those who acquired their education prior to enslavement, or who absorbed culture by contact with their master and his friends. Throughout antiquity slavery functioned as a compulsory initiation into a higher culture, as J. L. Myres acutely observed,<sup>12</sup> and many slaves eagerly derived the maximum of profit from their environment. In a formal sense, however, the Athenians felt that the liberal education of slaves was a contradiction in terms, and they forbade it partly by ruling custom and partly by law. The earliest statement of the law, in a speech of Aeschines, reads as follows: δοῦλον, φησὶν ὁ νόμος, μὴ γυμνάζεσθαι μηδὲ ξηραλοιφεῖν ἐν ταῖς παλαιστροῖς.<sup>13</sup> In Socrates' famous demonstration of *anamnesis* in the *Meno*, he unhesitatingly and correctly assumes that Meno's slave has had no liberal education.

Throughout the Greek world the Athenian educational policies were generally imitated. Aristotle gives a definite statement about the Cretans: "They allow their slaves all the same privileges as the freeborn, except that they deny them the gymnasia and the possession of arms."<sup>14</sup> Aelian need not lead us astray by his mistaken assertion that the *mothakes* in Sparta were slaves who nevertheless shared in the education of the freeborn.<sup>15</sup> In fact, *mothakes* were not "slaves of the wealthy," as Aelian said, nor sons of Spartiate fathers by helot mothers, as others have claimed, but free boys chosen for rearing and education in companionship with young Spartiates.<sup>16</sup> Thus Sparta was no exception to the rule that the Greek city-states excluded slaves from a liberal education.

But there was some kind of systematic instruction given to slaves, in Athens and presumably elsewhere, even in the fifth century. Pherecrates, a predecessor of Aristophanes, wrote a play named *Δουλοδιδάσκαλος*. The passage of Athenaeus (6.262B-C) that mentions this play is worth reproducing in Gulick's translation: "I, dear friends, have always wondered to see how abstemious slaves are as a class, considering that they move among so many tempting

<sup>12</sup> *The Dawn of History* (New York 1911) 98.

<sup>13</sup> Aeschin. *In Tim.* 138. Plutarch (*Sol.* 1) attributes the law to Solon, and again quotes it freely in *Amat.* 4 (751B).

<sup>14</sup> Aristot. *Pol.* 2.2.12, 1264A.21-22.

<sup>15</sup> Ael. *V.H.* 12.43, according to a questionable emendation by Casaubon.

<sup>16</sup> K. M. T. Chrimes, *Ancient Sparta* (Manchester 1949) 221 f. The most reliable statement is by Phylarchus, *FGrHist* 81 F43. Victor Ehrenberg s.v. *Μόθωρες*, *RE* 16 (1933) 385 writes: "Der Versuch von Cantarelli Riv. di filol. XVIII (1890), 465-484, im *μόθων* einen Freien, im *μόθαξ* einen Sklaven nachzuweisen, war völlig abwegig."

dainties. They treat them lightly, not merely through fear but also through training, though not the training (*διδασκαλία*) described in Pherecrates's *Slave-teacher*, but rather acquired by habit." We infer that the slave-teacher trained slaves not in ethics and codes of moral behavior, for example to keep them from petty thievery, but in the performance of their skilled or semi-skilled tasks. Aristotle tells clearly what a certain slave-teacher in Syracuse did, and this item of information might have come to Aristotle's ears from Plato after one of his visits to Syracuse. Distinguishing slave-knowledge from master-knowledge, Aristotle said the former is "such as the man of Syracuse taught, who made money by instructing slaves in their ordinary duties (*τὰ ἐγκύκλια διακονήματα*). And such a knowledge may be carried further, so as to include cookery and similar menial arts. For some duties are of the more necessary, others of the more honourable sort; as the proverb says, 'slave before slave, master before master.' But all such branches of knowledge are servile."<sup>17</sup>

It seems that both Pherecrates and Aristotle knew of teachers who earned a living by teaching slaves how to do their servile work properly. Such teachers either were rare or at least were seldom mentioned in our sources.

The Hellenistic Age exhibited a more magnanimous attitude toward slaves. Euripides, spiritual precursor of that Age, had been the first to insist that slavery is a purely social, not a moral category;<sup>18</sup> and his slave-characters stand on the same intellectual level as their masters.<sup>19</sup> The cosmopolitan contacts of the *oikoumenê* after Alexander's conquests taught the Greeks a new respect for the "barbarians" who had for centuries been the source of slave-supply.<sup>20</sup> The followers of Epicurus heard their Master exhort them not to punish slaves, but to sympathize with them and forgive their faults (Diog. Laert. 10.118). In spite of being slaveholders, the Stoics preached the brotherhood of man, and proclaimed that the only real slavery is slavery to vices and folly. *Servi? immo homines*, said Seneca, speaking his own mind but perhaps also echoing earlier

<sup>17</sup> Aristot. *Pol.* 1.2.22, 1255B.22-30, transl. Jowett.

<sup>18</sup> F. Martinazzoli, "Ἀντάρκεια ε δουλεία: due note euripidee," *Riv. Crit. di Storia d. Filos.* 1 (1946) 110-17.

<sup>19</sup> W. Schmid, *Gesch. d. gr. Lit.* 3.695, note 1, quoting Schol. Ar. *Ach.* 401: δεινούς εἰσάγει τοὺς δούλους ἐν ταῖς τραγωδαῖς.

<sup>20</sup> U. Wilcken, *Griechische Geschichte*<sup>7</sup> (München 1951) 311.

Stoic doctrine.<sup>21</sup> Humanitarianism aside, it was now openly recognized that some slaves were capable of rising above servile and menial work, and that it was economic wisdom to set ajar for them the door of educational opportunity. In fact, despite what the political theorists had to say, in actual practice few occupations were accounted so menial as to be fit only for slaves, and few so noble that slaves were absolutely debarred.

Grammaticus rhetor geometres pictor aliptes  
augur schoenobates medicus magus, omnia novit  
Graeculus esuriens.

If we endeavor to gloss this list of professions given in the well-known passage of Juvenal (3.76–78), we shall discover that five of the nine admitted slaves either commonly or by exception.

*Grammaticus*: common, e.g. Daphnis (Plin. *N.H.* 7.128).

*Rhetor*: no instance known.

*Geometres*: no instance known. The ex-slave Hermeros in Petronius (58.7) admits that he has never studied geometry.

*Pictor*: rare, but Omphalion was the slave, favorite, and pupil of the painter Nicias, late fourth century B.C. (Paus. 4.31.12); and Juv. 9.146 implies slave painters in Rome.

*Aliptes*: Juv. 6.422.

*Augur*: no instance known.

*Schoenobates*: common, *Digest* 19.1.54, cf. Gertrud Herzog-Hauser, *RE* s.v. *Νευροβάτης*.

*Medicus*: common, e.g. an unnamed physician of Augustus, Suet. *Calig.* 8.4.

*Magus*: no instance known.

The author of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Oeconomica*, writing probably in the third century B.C., stated the practical view of an economist: "Since we see that methods of education produce a certain character in the young, it is necessary when one has procured slaves to bring up (and educate) carefully those to whom the higher duties are to be entrusted."<sup>22</sup> This advice was widely followed, for it was not an isolated voice but a reflection of the thought of the time. Rostovtzeff, recalling the formula "schools for free boys," which frequently recurs in Hellenistic inscriptions relating to education, even raises the query whether this implies that there were other

<sup>21</sup> Sen. *Ep.* 47.1. The source is not Chrysippus (Summers *ad loc.*).

<sup>22</sup> Ps.-Aristot. *Oec.* 1.5, 1344A.26–29, Forster's translation. After *τρέφειν* in the text Philodemus from his manuscripts added *καὶ παιδεύειν*, which Spengel accepted and Susemihl thought possibly right.

schools attended indiscriminately by free and slave;<sup>23</sup> such a commingling at the elementary level seems quite possible, though not demonstrable.

The Scipionic circle, despite Cato's obdurate resistance, successfully transplanted the ideas of Hellenism and especially of Stoicism to Rome, with a limited amount of advantage to slaves. The many Romans who did not absorb the full humanitarianism of the Scipionic circle could at least see the practicality of having slaves in the *familia urbana* learn or pick up some rudiments of education. The imperfect results of this practical or restricted education could, when unduly flaunted, provoke the mockery of an aristocratic arbiter of elegance; but when allowance is made for satirical caricature, Trimalchio and his associates may give us some notion of the educational opportunities afforded to slaves in the early Empire.

Trimalchio, formerly a slave of Asiatic origin, had remained in slavery up to the age of forty. In boyhood he had been his master's favorite, and claims to have had the opportunity to read Homer. After diverting his banquet guests with an amazing mosaic of pied mythology, the upstart freedman authenticated his knowledge by the assertion: "I used to read these stories in Homer when I was a boy." Blind to his shortcomings, he gloried in his self-proclaimed learning: "We must study philology even at the dinner table," he opined, and again, "I wouldn't sell my intelligence for any amount of money."<sup>24</sup>

At an advanced point in the banquet, when Trimalchio had become drunk and maudlin, he openly gave prolonged kisses to a handsome slave boy, a *delicatus* of the sort trained as chamberlains by Roman millionaires.<sup>25</sup> When his wife Fortunata flared up in outraged protest over this behavior, Trimalchio blandly replied (75.4): "I didn't kiss him because he's good-looking but because he's good for something. He can say the table of tens. He can read a book by sight." Clearly a future rival to Trimalchio's own philological learning is appearing on the horizon.

Hermeros was just as satisfied with his intellectual attainments as was his host, Trimalchio. "I didn't study geometry, criticism,

<sup>23</sup> M. Rostovtzeff, *Soc. and Econ. Hist. of the Hellenistic World* 3.1600, note 51.

<sup>24</sup> The foregoing quotations from the *Cena* are, in order: 48.7, 39.4, 52.3. The last remark is a double-entendre on the part of Petronius, the hidden sense being that no buyers would offer anything for such a poor intelligence.

<sup>25</sup> See below, p. 335.



and senseless rubbish; but I know the capital letters, and I can tell percentages for the as, pound, and sestertius. . . . I went to school, I tell you, because the teacher used to say: 'Got everything all right? Straight home with you, now; eyes front, and don't be saucy to your elders. . . .' Yes, I thank God for education; it made me what I am" (58.7-14). *Habet haec res panem* is the dominant educational philosophy at Trimalchio's dinner-table.<sup>26</sup>

Much later the astrologist Maximus, discussing what starry auspices are favorable for sending children to school, began thus: "If you want to educate your sons or your trusty servants, either in a craft or in wisdom, etc."<sup>27</sup> This remark implies that educating slaves was a reasonable and standard practice.

Certainly the number and variety of educated slaves, particularly in Rome and Italy, was impressive. By apprenticeship methods and by education formal and informal, slaves were constantly being prepared for skilled trades, for business enterprises, for clerical occupations, for some forms of entertainment, and even for the professions of teaching and medicine.

## II. APPRENTICESHIP

The vocational training of slaves was often achieved by apprenticeship. If there are few definite records of this outside of Roman Egypt, it is because such records of private affairs were seldom deemed worthy of being cut in stone, while the papyrus documents, except in the favorable climate of Egypt, perished long ago. But a manumission record on stone at Delphi tells how Callixenus freed his Gallic slave Sosus on condition the latter should teach his craft (unspecified) to another *παιδάριον* if Callixenus produced the boy.<sup>28</sup>

In Egypt, where the proportion of slaves in the total population was smaller than in most parts of the ancient world,<sup>29</sup> apprenticeship was common for slaves but even more so for the freeborn. In the

<sup>26</sup> Echion's phrase, 46.7.

<sup>27</sup> Maximus, *Περὶ καταρχῶν* 439-40:

Εἰ δὲ τέχνης θέλεις δεδαγκότας ἐντίνασθαι  
ἢ σοφίης υἱῆς ἢ ὀτρηροῦς θεράποντας, κ.τ.λ.

Kroll (*RE* 14.2575) dates Maximus not before the second century but at least before Nonnus (fifth century).

<sup>28</sup> *SIG*<sup>2</sup> 858, between 170 and 157 B.C. (not in *SIG*<sup>3</sup>).

<sup>29</sup> Johnson 277: "In the agricultural economy of Egypt slavery was comparatively rare." See also J. G. Winter, *Life and Letters in the Papyri* (Ann Arbor 1933) 57.

apprenticeship contracts found on papyri and studied first by Westermann and later by Signorina Zambon, the boys involved are predominantly free. Nevertheless there are eight such contracts for slaves, and to them we may now turn our attention.<sup>30</sup>

While the Greeks used the one word *διδασκαλικαί* for all such contracts, modern jurists have agreed to distinguish the teaching contract ("Lehrvertrag"), wherein pay for the teacher is stipulated, from the apprenticeship contract ("Lehrlingsvertrag"), wherein the master workman gets no pay except the fruit of the apprentice's labor.<sup>31</sup> Of the former type we have two specimens, and of the latter six.

The eight contracts, and indeed all of the similar *διδασκαλικαί* for the freeborn, date from the Roman period. But under the Ptolemies the system of apprenticeship already existed, as will appear from a text to be discussed below; and the absence of contracts from the Ptolemaic period, if not due to chance, may indicate that such arrangements were made orally.<sup>32</sup>

In the earlier of the two teaching contracts,<sup>33</sup> dating from 13 B.C. in Alexandria, C. Julius (cognomen lost) arranged for a music teacher named C. Julius Eros to train his slave Narcissus in flute-playing (*διαυλεῖν*). The apprenticeship is for one year,<sup>34</sup> and Eros is to receive one hundred drachmas as the price of his lessons. A musician such as Eros, whose name suggests that he himself might have been a slave, could earn part of his living by work as a music teacher, and slave boys or free were equally grist for his mill. Many of the professional entertainers, musicians, dancers, and acrobats in Egypt were slaves,<sup>35</sup> and there is no doubt that the master of Narcissus intended to hire him out for such professional entertaining. The necessity of lessons for a would-be flutist needs no arguing, and Horace (*A.P.* 414 f.) makes it explicit:

<sup>30</sup> For an excellent and easily accessible listing of all the contracts, with translation of several, see Johnson 388–92.

<sup>31</sup> In both sorts of *διδασκαλικαί* the master workman, in his teaching capacity, is called *διδάσκαλος*.

<sup>32</sup> Zambon 17.

<sup>33</sup> *BGU* 1125, discussed by Zambon 10 and Westermann, *JEA* 10 (1924) 143 f.

<sup>34</sup> Zambon 49, note 6, correcting Westermann (308, note 1 and *JEA* 10 [1924] 144), who repeatedly says the contract was to run only six months.

<sup>35</sup> Westermann, *PCorn.* p. 55: Slave status "might well be postulated for many of the lesser artistes." Johnson 279: "It is probable that dancers and musicians in the traveling companies that furnished amusement at festivals were slaves."

Qui Pythia cantat  
tibicen didicit prius extimuitque magistrum.

The other teaching contract is between Panechotes, *ex-kosmetes* of Oxyrhynchus, and a shorthand writer Apollonius, in the year 155 of our era.<sup>36</sup> Here are the terms of the contract, as translated by Hunt and Edgar:

I have placed with you my slave Chaerammon to learn the signs which your son Dionysius knows, for a period of two years from the present month Phamenoth of the 18th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, for the fee agreed upon between us of 120 silver drachmae, with exception of feast-days; and of this sum you have had a first instalment of 40 drachmae, and you will receive a second instalment of 40 drachmae when the boy has learned all the commentary by heart, and the third instalment, the remaining 40 drachmae, you will receive at the end of the period when the boy can write and read from prose of all kinds without fault. If you make him perfect within the period, I will not await the aforesaid date, though I shall have no right to remove the boy within the period, and he shall remain with you after the period for as many days or months as he may have been absent from work.

The program calls for an apprentice to spend a considerable time in the memorization of a complete set of tachygraphic signs, called the "commentary,"<sup>37</sup> and then to practice strenuously in writing and transcribing. Since the owner of Chaerammon was a man of distinction (*ex-kosmetes*), perhaps he needed a tachygrapher for his own affairs; or else he realized that an expert slave tachygrapher at hire could earn excellent wages.

Of the six apprenticeship contracts for slaves, five pertain to weaving. We should also notice the letter of the Zenon archive (*PSI* 341, of 256/5 B.C.) wherein two brother weavers, Apollophanes and Demetrius, advertise their skill to Zenon: they can manufacture such garments as the *chlamys*, *chiton*, *zonê*, *himation*, etc., "and can teach the art to others, if you so desire." This out-and-out bid for apprentices in the hey-day of the Ptolemies assures us that apprenticeship was not an innovation of Roman law in Egypt, and it would not be surprising if Zenon lent a willing ear, although we do not have his reply. "Weaving as an industry was widespread. . . . There was a Linen Weavers' Quarter at Arsinoe and possibly at Theadel-

<sup>36</sup> *POxy.* 724; Wilcken, *Chrest.* 140; Hunt-Edgar, *Select Papyri* (LCL) no. 15.

<sup>37</sup> This must have been the official Latin designation of the shorthand manual, for the Latin word *commentarium* is used in this Greek document. Cf. H. J. M. Milne, *Greek Shorthand Manuals* (London 1934) 2 f.

phia, and at Alexandria weaving was one of the important industries."<sup>38</sup> The trade employed both free and slave labor, and Signorina Zambon identified at least eight contracts which apprentice free boys to master weavers.<sup>39</sup> As for girls, the only apprentices are of the slave class, since free girls were traditionally excluded from the money-earning industries.

All of the five contracts that apprentice slaves to master weavers date in the second or third century. The earliest (A.D. 150) is the text of Soknopaiou Nesos in which Segathis, daughter of Satabus, entrusts her slave girl Taorsenuphis to the weaver Pausiris for an apprenticeship of fourteen months. At the end of the period Pausiris was to return the girl "taught in the craft just as he knows it himself."<sup>40</sup>

The second text, again from Soknopaiou Nesos, has gone through some vicissitudes of conjectural restoration and interpretation since it was published by Grenfell and Hunt in 1897 (*PGrenf.* 2.59). The original reading, ἀλλητὴν γερδιακὴν τέχνην, interpreted as "a skilled worker in the weaver's craft," led Westermann and others to assert that the text was not an apprenticeship contract. But, as Signorina Zambon shows (4 f.), Wessely had meanwhile in 1902<sup>41</sup> quietly proposed the reading μαθεῖν τὴν γερδιακὴν τέχνην — palaeographically possible and making better grammar and sense. Grenfell and Hunt later accepted Wessely's proposal, as does Signorina Zambon.<sup>42</sup> Thus understood, the text shows that in the year 189 a woman named Taseus apprenticed her slave Stotoetis (name dubious) to the master-weaver Paouetis for twenty months.

The next two contracts are of indefinite dates in the late second or third century. In Antinoopolis (*PSI* 241) a professional athlete, Silvanus, also called Posis, apprenticed his fourteen-year-old slave Nike to the master-weaver Aurelius Antinous, also called Apion, for twelve months with daily pay of four obols for the last six months. Finally we discover from an Oxyrhynchus contract that a much

<sup>38</sup> Johnson 332.

<sup>39</sup> Zambon, table facing p. 14. Slave weavers are casually mentioned in the *Digest* 32.1.65.2.

<sup>40</sup> Wessely, *Stud. Pal.* 22 (1922) no. 40.

<sup>41</sup> K. Wessely, "Karanis und Soknopaiou Nesos," *Denkschr. Akad. Wien* 47 (1902) Abh. 4, p. 32.

<sup>42</sup> See Zambon 4 f. for fuller details. She dismisses Crönert's interpretation that the boy concerned was free, because he is called παῖς which invariably means "slave" in the apprenticeship contracts, whereas υἱός is always used for a child of free parents.

longer period of apprenticeship would permit the slave to earn at a rapidly increasing rate while she learned. On this plan the owner would not pay for the slave's instruction, but the master weaver would have the slave's output of work at a low price over a term of years after considerable skill had been developed. Here are the terms of the bargain between an Oxyrhynchite lady Platonis, also called Ophelia, and the master-weaver Lucius of Aphrodisium in the Small Oasis:<sup>43</sup>

Platonis apprentices to Lucius her slave Thermuthion, who is under age, to learn the trade of weaving for a period of four years, . . . for which period she is to feed and clothe the girl and produce her to her instructor daily from sunrise to sunset in the performance of all the duties to be imposed on her by him appertaining to the aforesaid trade, her pay being for the first year at the rate of eight drachmae a month, for the second year twelve dr. a month, for the third year sixteen dr. a month, and for the fourth year twenty dr. a month, and that the girl is to be allowed annually eighteen days' holiday on account of festivals, while, if there are any days on which she does no work or is ill, she shall remain with her instructor for a number equal to these at the end of the period, the taxes upon the trade and imposts upon apprenticeship being chargeable to the instructor.

The fifth example of a contract for the apprenticeship of a slave in weaving is an unpublished document from Karanis, dating from 270 A.D.<sup>44</sup> Aurelius Ision of Karanis apprenticed his female slave,<sup>45</sup> whose name and age are not specified, to the 58-year-old freedwoman weaver Aurelia Libyce for one year. The purpose is stated in about the usual way: *πρὸς μάθησιν τῆς τέχνης*, and Libyce gives the usual promise to produce a girl *μεμαθηκυῖαν τὴν τέχνην ἐντελῶς καθ' ὁμοιότητα τῶν ὁμηλικῶν αὐτῆς*.

Our final example of an apprenticeship contract (*BGU* 1021), from Oxyrhynchus in the third century, shows an honorably discharged veteran named Aurelius Sentius apprenticing his slave Ptolemaeus to a *κτεριστής* named Theon for three years. There is an unsettled dispute over the true meaning of *κτεριστής*: Blümner, Reil, and Westermann define it as "wool-carder," Preisigke and Liddell-

<sup>43</sup> *POxy.* 1647, as translated by Grenfell and Hunt.

<sup>44</sup> P. Mich. Inv. 5191 b. Information about this text is kindly supplied by Professor Herbert C. Youtie.

<sup>45</sup> ἡ παῖς. Youtie's interpretation in a letter to the author: "I think in such a text as this, where the apprentice is not clearly designated 'daughter' and Ision makes an investment in the girl to the extent of one year's training, we must assume that she is his property. And after all παῖς = 'slave' is normal usage in the late period."

Scott-Jones as “hairdresser” or “friseur.”<sup>46</sup> Signorina Zambon (38) leans to Reil’s opinion on the ground that weaving and its auxiliary trades flourished in Oxyrhynchus (and Tebtunis), but she wonders why an apprentice would need three years to learn wool-carding when apprentice weavers learned their trade in a year or slightly longer. The latter argument seems so pointed as to be nearly conclusive. A slave of modest intelligence should learn how to card wool in a couple of weeks without a formal apprenticeship. But hairdressing was an art whose skillful results were highly prized and were indeed beautiful, as is abundantly clear from ancient literature and sculpture.<sup>47</sup> The *ornatrices* or *ornatores* were always slaves,<sup>48</sup> and all readers of Martial recall his outraged protest at the lady who struck down with a heavy mirror her hairdresser Plecusa for the offense of letting one ringlet go astray.<sup>49</sup> That *ornatrices* had to serve a rather long apprenticeship is the implication of a Roman jurist’s opinion, to the effect that when a legacy was bequeathed to slave *ornatrices*, those slaves who had studied under a teacher for only two months could not be legally considered *ornatrices* and therefore could not receive the legacy.<sup>50</sup> This is definite proof that apprenticeship in hairdressing was regarded as a matter of course, and two months of training were considered only a beginning — not even enough to constitute a legal minimum. It is our view that the κτενιστής Theon was operating a beauty parlor in Oxyrhynchus, and was willing to take apprentices such as Ptolemaeus for a long period of training in a fine art whose customers were ultra-fastidious.

If the apprenticeship system for training slaves operated freely in Roman Egypt, there is no a priori reason why it should not have been an accepted policy also in Rome and the Western Mediterranean. We turn to Plutarch’s *Life of the Elder Cato*: “He used to lend money also to those of his slaves who wished it, and they would

<sup>46</sup> H. Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie* 1 (Leipzig 1875) 116 f.; Th. Reil, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes im hellenistischen Aegypten* (Leipzig 1913) 99; Westermann, *The Slave Systems* etc. 121, note 24; Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* s.v.; *LSJ* s.v., citing Galen 13.1038 Kühn, *PTeb.* 322.23, and Gloss. Johnson 391 does not try to resolve the doubt.

<sup>47</sup> See discussion and illustrations in *DarSag* s.v. “Coma.”

<sup>48</sup> E. Saglio in *DarSag* 4.239; H. Blümner in Baumeister’s *Denkmäler* 1.619, s.v. “Haartracht.”

<sup>49</sup> Mart. 2.66. Cf. Juv. 6.490–93.

<sup>50</sup> *Digest* 32.1.65.3.: *Ornatricibus legatus Celsus scripsit eas quae duos tantum menses apud magistrum fuerunt legatos non credere.* Other jurists disagreed with this.

buy boys with it, and after training and teaching them for a year at Cato's expense, would sell them again. Many of these boys Cato would retain for himself, reckoning to the credit of the slave the highest price bid for the boy."<sup>51</sup> All this was strictly business, of a profitable sort, and doubtless other Romans followed Cato's example. The *Digest* (17.1.26.8) cites as an imaginary situation a smith (*faber*) who bought a slave for ten *aurei*, taught him his craft, and then resold him for twenty. Ulpian (*Digest* 19.2.13.3) speaks of the leasing of slaves for instructional purposes (*servum docendum conducere*) as if it were a standard procedure. Apprenticeship was seemingly the method used to train slave barbers, for Petronius (94.14) speaks of *pueri discentes* who used an edgeless razor until they mastered the art. Similarly the chief mirror-maker in the imperial palace taught a cluster of *discentes*.<sup>52</sup> From Rome we have the hexameter epitaph of a slave boy, *delicium domini*, who died at the age of twelve after making a good start as an apprentice in the goldsmith's trade.<sup>53</sup>

While most of the known architects of the Roman world were free or freedmen, a few were slaves, who probably owed their training to apprenticeship. Examples from the time of the Republic are Corumbus, slave of Balbus, and Hospes, slave of an unidentified Appia; and later there was Tychicus, who belonged to the Emperor Domitian.<sup>54</sup> Epictetus, who knew conditions in Rome in the time of Domitian, alludes (4.1.117) to the possibility of purchasing a slave architect.

### III. THE PAEDAGOGIUM

Imperial Rome devised another scheme for educating slaves in addition to apprenticeship. The Roman *paedagogium* was antiquity's most systematic and durable plan for educating slave children. Since it has been thoroughly studied by Mohler, and more briefly by Navarre and Ensslin, we may confine ourselves to a summary account.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 21.7, trans. by Perrin. "Offenbare Lehrlingsausbildung," says Westermann, *RE Suppl.* 6.971, s.v. "Sklaverei."

<sup>52</sup> *ILS* 1779: praepositus speculariorum . . . discentibus speculariis.

<sup>53</sup> *ILS* 7710; Bücheler, *Carm. Lat. Epigr.* 403.

<sup>54</sup> De Ruggiero, *Diz. Epigr.* s.v. "Architectus" 645, lists these and other slave architects. We learn of "Corumbus Balbi" from Cic. *Att.* 14.3.1; of Hospes from *CIL* X 4587; of Tychicus from *ILS* 7733a.

<sup>55</sup> O. Navarre, s.v. "Paedagogium," *DarSag* 4.271 f.; W. Ensslin, s.v. "Paedagogiani," *RE* 18 (1942) 2204 f.; Mohler, article cited in note 6, above.

The great Roman households, where mating of the slaves by *contubernium* was generally permitted or encouraged, had swarms of unproductive *vernae* who were too young to work. The shrewd Romans decided, in order to eliminate idleness and heighten the future economic value of the promising boys among these children, to organize schools for them within the household. Selected for teachers were the school-attendants (*paedagogi*) of the free children, who knew how to teach at least from observation, or other intelligent slaves who were likewise given the title of *paedagogi* or, more fully, *paedagogi puerorum*. The room or area set aside for the instruction of the slave boys in the great establishments was called the *paedagogium*. Pliny speaks of a *paedagogium* in one of his villas (unspecified), and of a gymnasium for his slaves in the Laurentine villa; probably Mohler is right in believing that the *paedagogium*, with a gymnasium as part of the school, was in the Laurentinum.<sup>56</sup> Seneca gives us to understand that lavish quarters were typically provided for the *paedagogia*, as part of the showy outlay of millionaires.<sup>57</sup>

The *paedagogia* are usually called "page-schools," but Mohler has ably argued that this was only part of the story, for the usefulness of pages was restricted to a few years of part-time duty while they were young and handsome. The Romans had in mind larger objectives, of preparing slaves worthy to become freedmen in responsible and trusted positions as chamberlains, bookkeepers, secretaries, or procurators. Hence the slaves were undoubtedly taught reading, writing, and arithmetic; indeed they got much the same kind of basic education that free boys did, besides specific training in various duties of the dining room.

Of the specific training there are a few inklings in the authors of the first century. Columella complains bitterly that Rome has no schools of agriculture, a matter vital to the commonwealth, but does have "training-schools for the most contemptible vices — the seasoning of food to promote gluttony and the more extravagant serving of courses."<sup>58</sup> Certainly the students in such schools were slaves. Seneca, in his epistle on slavery (47.6), remarks on the trained skill of the fowl-carver, learned from a teacher; and Juvenal's chronic

<sup>56</sup> Plin. *Ep.* 2.17.7 (*gymnasium meorum*), 7.27.13 (several slave boys sleeping in *paedagogio*). Mohler 270.

<sup>57</sup> Sen. *Tranq. anim.* 1.8: praestringit animum apparatus alicuius paedagogii.

<sup>58</sup> Colum. 1. praef. 5: contemptissimorum vitiatorum officinae, gulosius condiendi cibos et luxuriosius fericula struendi. Translation by Ash, *LCL*.



indignation was easily enlisted against a carver who danced and gestured with flying knife until he had rehearsed all the lessons of his teacher.<sup>59</sup>

In the imperial household, where we can trace the *paedagogium* from the time of Tiberius to that of Caracalla, an elaborate organization required several *paedagogi*, sometimes a *subpaedagogus*, a "master medical rubber of distinguished children," a man in charge of the school furniture, an anointer, and a hairdresser.<sup>60</sup> Clearly excellent care was taken both of the health and physical appearance of these boys, as well as of their education. The ages of the boys, ascertained from inscriptions, range from twelve to eighteen; and their names suggest that their ancestors were mostly from Greece or the Greek world.<sup>61</sup> The school building that they used in the second century was one called *Caput Africae*, on the Caelian Hill.<sup>62</sup> In the year 198 the surprising number of twenty-four *paedagogi*, all freedmen, formed the teaching corps for hundreds of slave pupils *ad Caput Africae* (*CIL* VI 1052). Another city that always had a large contingent of imperial slaves, as the discovery of the cemeteries proved, was Carthage; and there too an imperial *paedagogium*, doubtless on a much smaller scale, was operated (*CIL* VIII 12649–51).

The prominence and ability of the freedmen who served the imperial house of Rome are mute witnesses to the efficacy of the *paedagogium*. Take just one example of a man whose education and career suggest a background in the *paedagogium*. Helicon, the Egyptian chamberlain of Caligula, a man sufficiently powerful at court to stir up the emperor against the Alexandrian Jews, was described by Philo as "an accursed and abominable slave who had tasted a cultural education through the ambitiousness of his former owner, who presented him to Tiberius."<sup>63</sup>

Thinking of such men as Helicon and the many influential freedmen whom we encounter in the pages of Tacitus, Mohler summarized his study as follows:

<sup>59</sup> Juv. 5.121, and parallels in Mayor's note.

<sup>60</sup> These terms in the inscriptions of *CIL* VI are: *magister iatrolipta puerorum eminentium* (8981), *a superlectile* (8973), *unctor* (V 1039), and *ornatrix* (8977).

<sup>61</sup> Most of their teachers likewise had Greek names.

<sup>62</sup> G. Gatti, "Del Caput Africae nella seconda regione di Roma," *Ann. d. Inst. di Corr. Arch.* 54 (1882) 191–220; De Ruggiero s.v. "Africae caput," *Diz. Epigr.* 1.350; Platner-Ashby, *Topog. Dict. Anc. Rome* 98 f.

<sup>63</sup> Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium* 166; Balsdon, *The Emperor Gaius* (Oxford 1934) 135.

To ask the question what these men had been doing in their teens is to answer it. They had been learning to write perfect Latin and Greek, and had mastered the mathematical knowledge necessary to administer the finances of rich provinces . . . (277). All of the more important functions in a city household, be it remarked, would require a high degree of literacy and a practical knowledge of arithmetic. . . . The more favored Roman slave boy was given an education roughly comparable with that of . . . American youth today. Its primary purpose was selfishly utilitarian, but its effect was to make the slave a self-respecting human being, and prepare him for the responsibilities and privileges of citizenship, which came to him with manumission (279 f.).

#### IV. LEARNING, ENTERTAINMENT, AND BUSINESS

Philosophy, beloved by the Greeks and regarded as the highest pinnacle of education, was kept out of the reach of slaves, although the Hellenistic and Roman periods provide a very few exceptions. Many slaves were entirely content to be deprived of what they considered a dubious blessing; thus Trimalchio ordered that his tombstone should proclaim that he made thirty millions and never listened to a philosopher's lectures (Petron. 71.12).

Gellius has left us a list, short but still too generously inclusive, of the slave philosophers.<sup>64</sup> First he names Phaedo, who became a slave after being taken prisoner of war and was purchased for manumission by one of the disciples of Socrates at the latter's suggestion. Undoubtedly Phaedo's education was acquired before and after his short term of slavery.<sup>65</sup> Menippus of Gadara, however, was a slave from birth, and very likely had the rudiments of education before manumission. Pompylus, trusted slave and later freedman of Theophrastus, absorbed a good deal of the culture of the Lyceum but did not become a teacher or writer. Persaeus does not rightfully belong in Gellius' list, for he seems to have been the favorite student rather than the slave of Zeno Stoicus.<sup>66</sup> Mys, the slave of Epicurus, is a legitimate and indeed an excellent case of a slave philosopher; Epicurus held him in high esteem, wrote several

<sup>64</sup> Gell. 2.18. The passage is largely repeated in Macrob. *Sat.* 1.11.41-44.

<sup>65</sup> The story of Plato's being sold into brief slavery is considered legendary: U. Kahrstedt, "Platons Verkauf in die Sklaverei," *Würzburger Jbb. f.d. Altertumsw.* 2 (1947) 295-300. Aristotle's friend Hermias may have been a student of philosophy in the Academy but, *pace* Theopompus, he never was a slave: D. E. W. Wormell, "The Literary Tradition concerning Hermias of Atarneus," *YCS* 5 (1935) 58, 66, 73.

<sup>66</sup> F. Susseml, *Gesch. d. griech. Litt. in d. Alexandrinerzeit* (Leipzig 1891) 1.69, note 263; K. Deichgräber, *RE* 19 (1937) 927.

philosophic letters to him, and manumitted him only in his will.<sup>67</sup> As for Diogenes the Cynic, Gellius himself acknowledges that he was simply sold into slavery in his mature years, having had his education long prior to his enslavement.

But the most striking case was that of Epictetus, mentioned last by Gellius as fresh in the minds of everyone. While still a slave of Epaphroditus, the freedman secretary of Nero, Epictetus was allowed to study Stoicism under Musonius Rufus, the chief Stoic teacher of the time.<sup>68</sup> The history of Epictetus found an echo in the age of the Antonines, when a nameless slave in Pisidia became well versed in Stoicism, and in good hexameters professed his admiration for his prototype, Epictetus.<sup>69</sup>

Outside the list supplied by Gellius we may draw momentary attention to a philosophic slave of Plutarch, mentioned elsewhere in Gellius.<sup>70</sup> This nameless slave, though a rebellious fellow, "had his ears imbued with the books and arguments of philosophy" — so much so that once when Plutarch ordered him flogged for misbehaviour, he protested that this violated the principles of Plutarch's own book *Περὶ ἀοργησίας*. On this point Plutarch courteously proceeded to argue with him, but commanded the flogging to continue during the debate.

Aside from the philosophers, the list of writers born or reared in slavery is meager. The biography of Aesop, the Phrygian slave who wrote fables, is beclouded with fable. Ister, historian and polygraph, was Callimachus' slave and pupil; his career was discussed in the lost work of Hermippus of Berytus on slaves renowned for cultural achievement.<sup>71</sup> Hermippus himself was an example of the sort of slave whom his book honored. According to some reports, Iamblichus, the Syrian writer of romance in the time of the Antonines, was the son of slaves.<sup>72</sup>

Among the Latin writers, Livius Andronicus was educated in freedom and fell into slavery later through the fortunes of war.

<sup>67</sup> Epic. fr. 152–55 Usener; Diog. Laert. 10.21 (the will).

<sup>68</sup> Thought to be implied by Origen, *Contra Cels.* 3.54: τοῖς προτρεψαμένοις Ἐπικτήτῳ ἐπὶ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν.

<sup>69</sup> The hexameter inscription was found and published by J. R. S. Sterrett, *PASATH* 3 (1888) 315 f., no. 438; commentary was promptly provided by G. Kaibel, *Hermes* 23 (1888) 541–45.

<sup>70</sup> Gell. 1.26; cf. K. Ziegler, s.v. "Plutarchos," *RE* 21.665.

<sup>71</sup> Suid. s.v. Ἰστρος; F. Jacoby, *RE* 9.2270.

<sup>72</sup> Suid. s.v. Ἰάμβλιχος.

Terence, however, because of his intelligence and good looks, was given a liberal education by his master C. Terentius Lucanus before manumission.<sup>73</sup> Exactly the same qualities commended Publilius Syrus to his Roman master, who proceeded to manumit him and then give him a careful education.<sup>74</sup> We do not certainly know whether Hyginus and Phaedrus were educated before or after their liberation.<sup>75</sup>

Some of the educated slaves or freedmen who may have had a servile education were themselves engaged in the work of education. The first *grammaticus* of Rome, according to Plutarch, was Spurius Carvilius, freedman of Spurius Carvilius Maximus Ruga.<sup>76</sup> This was about 254–34 B.C., and in that period we should assume that this freedman, whose original servile name is not recorded by Plutarch, was a Greek. This was just about the time when the Greek freedman Livius Andronicus was also teaching school in Rome. Cato the Censor owned a Greek *grammatistês* named Chilon, who earned revenue for his master by teaching many boys, although Cato was unwilling to trust him with his own son.<sup>77</sup> Somewhat later there was the slave *grammaticus* Daphnis, known only from a reference in the Elder Pliny.<sup>78</sup> Marcus Aemilius Scaurus (163/2–90/88 B.C.), the famous *princeps senatus*, bought Daphnis for 700,000 sesterces — the highest price, as far as Pliny knew, that was ever paid for a person born in slavery.

For the slave *grammatici* of the Empire our source of information is Suetonius, *De grammaticis*. C. Julius Hyginus, librarian and polymath as well as *grammaticus*, was a freedman of Augustus, and it is likely that he gained freedom only as a recognition of his education and scholarly powers (Suet. *Gram.* 20). Orbilius, the *plagopus grammaticus* remembered by Horace and all his readers, had a Greek slave Aphrodisius whom he educated, probably as an investment. The investment was good, for Scribonia, ex-wife of Augustus, purchased Aphrodisius and manumitted him to be her client freedman (*ibid.* 19). C. Melissus of Spolegium was born free, but through

<sup>73</sup> Suet. *Vit. Ter.* 1.

<sup>74</sup> Macrob. *Sat.* 2.7.6: manu missus et maiore cura eruditus.

<sup>75</sup> See below on Hyginus.

<sup>76</sup> Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 59: πρῶτος ἀνέφξε γραμματοδιδασκαλεῖον.

<sup>77</sup> Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 20.3: χαρίεντα δούλον εἶχε γραμματιστὴν ὄνομα Χίλωνα, πολλοὺς διδάσκοντα παῖδας.

<sup>78</sup> Plin. *N.H.* 7.128. Westermann (*The Slave Systems* etc. 100) denies credence to this extravagant price and suspects textual corruption in Pliny.

*expositio* came into slavery. Then his owner, whose identity we do not know, educated him thoroughly and presented him to Maecenas as a *grammaticus*. So friendly and kind was the treatment that he received from Maecenas that when his mother, now re-entering the picture, claimed him for freedom, he chose to remain as Maecenas' slave. Later, however, he accepted manumission and had a career as a librarian and writer (*ibid.* 21). The famous Remmius Palaemon was a home-born slave, trained as a weaver, presumably by the apprenticeship system. Later, while acting as *paedagogus* for his owner's son, he absorbed a liberal education. Being manumitted, he set up business as a teacher and gained top rank among the *grammatici* at Rome, where he presently earned 400,000 sesterces a year from his school.<sup>79</sup> Herzog (1016) thinks he must have taken large numbers of slaves among his students in order to build up such an unexampled income.

Among the teachers of rhetoric listed by Suetonius only one, Voltacilius Pitholaus, was of servile origin. His task was that of a doorkeeper, chained to his post (*ostiarius in catena*), and we may readily imagine that he had much leisure. Evidently he spent his time in study, for he won his freedom, became a rhetor and a teacher of Pompey the Great, and wrote history.<sup>80</sup> Possibly a teacher of rhetoric was Asclepiades, called *ῥητορικὸς δοῦλος* in a papyrus of Arsinoe (A.D. 72/3).<sup>81</sup>

Akin to the slaves who were prepared to teach were those who were skilled to entertain at dinners of the wealthy or the wise.<sup>82</sup> To a dinner guest who failed to appear Pliny wrote (*Ep.* 1.15.2) in a tone of jesting reproach: Audisses comoedos vel lectorem vel lyristen vel, quae mea liberalitas, omnes. The *comoedi* who entertained at a dinner were not comic actors but slaves (or freedmen) who gave dramatic readings from the comedies. Pliny mentions them in five other passages.<sup>83</sup> Seneca (*Const.* 11.3) describes how

<sup>79</sup> Suet. *Gram.* 23. According to the sequence of events in Suetonius (*ibid.* 7), M. Antonius Gniphio, a *nutritore suo manumissus institutusque*, was freed before he received his education as a *grammaticus*.

<sup>80</sup> Suet. *Gram.* 27 (*Rhet.* 3). This rhetor's name is disputed, but I have followed the text of R. P. Robinson.

<sup>81</sup> *Stud. Pal.* 4.67, line 289. Westermann (*The Slave Systems* etc. 121, note 18) leaves it an open question whether Asclepiades was himself a teacher of rhetoric or simply the slave of a rhetor.

<sup>82</sup> The Romans tell nothing of how their many slave actors acquired an education. The best actors were valued so highly that some had to pay upward of 700,000 sesterces for their freedom: Plin. *N.H.* 7.128.

<sup>83</sup> Plin. *Ep.* 3.1.9; 5.19.3 (freedman Zosimus); 9.17.3; 9.36.4; 9.40.2.

dinner guests were entertained by slave jesters, who leveled bold barbs of contumelious wit at their masters. "Some people purchase saucy boys for this purpose," he reports, "and keep them under a teacher to sharpen their skill in impudence, so that they may become expert in casting studied insults." At other dinner tables readers (*lectores* or *anagnostae*) regaled the diners with selections from poetry or prose.<sup>84</sup> The household of the cultured business man Atticus was replete with *anagnostae optimi et plurimi librarii*, each one of whom was home-born and home-trained, so that we are entitled to consider Atticus a prominent and systematic educator of slaves.<sup>85</sup>

In this matter Atticus' contemporary Crassus was even more ambitious. Plutarch (*Crassus* 2.5) declared that all the other constituent parts of Crassus' wealth were overshadowed by his slaves: "So many slaves and such slaves! readers, secretaries, assayers of silver, comptrollers, and decorators of the dinner table! And he personally supervised and looked after them while they learned, and actually taught them."

The amanuenses of the Romans were usually Greek slaves, such as those educated by Atticus and Crassus. Demetrius, Martial's amanuensis during the earliest part of his literary activity, died at the age of nineteen and was manumitted on his death-bed (Mart. 1.101). All the amanuenses listed in Dessau were slaves or freedmen, several with Greek names, one of them a woman.<sup>86</sup> Suetonius (*Nero* 44) says that amanuenses and *dispensatores* were especially valuable slaves.

Cicero himself claimed to have educated one slave, his famous stenographer and secretary Tiro. The very name of Tiro may be significant in this connection, for Groebe reasonably theorized that Cicero, who specifically called himself Tiro's *magister* (*Fam.* 16.3.1), considered Tiro his apprentice and named him from his *tirocinium*.<sup>87</sup> The education that Tiro received from Cicero was surely of a humanistic nature, whereas in shorthand Tiro was either autodidact,

<sup>84</sup> Pliny (*Ep.* 8.1) was solicitous for the health and welfare of his favorite slave-reader Encolpius. Cicero was upset at the death of his *anagnostes* Sositheus (*Att.* 1.12.4).

<sup>85</sup> Nepos, *Att.* 13.3. Scholarly Atticus invariably had an *anagnostes*, never a musician or other sort of entertainment, at his dinners: *ibid.* 14.1.

<sup>86</sup> *ILS* 7392-99. The woman secretary (*ibid.* 7397) was Grapte, slave of Egnatia Maximilla, a wealthy lady of Neronian Rome, known from Tac. *Ann.* 15.71. Paulus, *Sent.* 3.6.70, alludes to *servi amanuenses*.

<sup>87</sup> P. Groebe s.v. "M. Tullius Tiro," *RE* 7A. 1319.

if he really did invent the *Notae Tironianae*,<sup>88</sup> or was the pupil of some specialist. Cicero was only three years older than Tiro, and the friendly relations between the two in their maturity<sup>89</sup> suggest that Cicero had done the youthful teaching in a casual and informal way. Despite Cicero's admiration for Tiro, he kept him in the status of slavery for fifty years.

Every shorthand writer listed in the indices to Dessau was, like Tiro, either a slave or a freedman (see also the discussion of the contract for apprenticeship in tachygraphy, above, p. 330). The will of a wealthy Elatean, from the second century of our era, mentions the slave shorthand writer of Epaphroditus.<sup>90</sup> The shorthand teachers as well as the practitioners were called *notarii*, and Martial indicates that the attendance in their schools was heavy.<sup>91</sup> Such schooling added greatly to the market value of the slaves; the Code of Justinian (7.7.1.5) prices *notarii* at fifty *solidi*, as against twenty for unskilled slaves. In the Late Empire the sons of free men took up stenographic training, and these *notarii* had a new and greater importance in the imperial bureaucracy.<sup>92</sup>

Bookkeeping was another of the occupations traditionally assigned to slaves and freedmen.<sup>93</sup> In order to meet the demand for trained and competent bookkeepers, ambitious *calculatores* wrote textbooks called *commentarii* and operated special schools which were well patronized by servile clientèle.<sup>94</sup> Trimalchio as a slave from Asia learned to keep books and then became a financial manager (*dispensator*) for his owner or patron;<sup>95</sup> many other slaves doubtless

<sup>88</sup> The invention is ascribed to him by Jerome (*Chron.* year 2013), and this ascription is generally sustained by scholars, e.g. Arthur Mentz, "Die Entstehungsgeschichte der römischen Stenographie," *Hermes* 66 (1931) 371.

<sup>89</sup> Cic. *Fam.* 16.16.1: eum nobis amicum quam servum esse maluisti.

<sup>90</sup> *IG IX* 1.128, line 16.

<sup>91</sup> Mart. 10.62.4 f.:

Nec calculator nec notarius velox  
maiore quisquam circulo coronetur.

<sup>92</sup> Marrou 414 f.

<sup>93</sup> Occupations of freedmen listed in *Digest* 38.1.7.5: *librarius vel nomenclator vel calculator vel histrio vel alterius voluptatis artifex*. Antoninus Pius specifically excluded *calculatores* from the ranks of the teachers of liberal studies, thereby making them ineligible for the exemptions and privileges accorded to teachers: *Cod. Iust.* 10.53.4.

<sup>94</sup> *ILS* 7755, elogium of the slave *calculator* Melior, author of a textbook, obiit A.D. 144 at Ostia. The passage cited above, note 91, from Martial alludes to the numerous students of bookkeeping. Marrou 555 f., note 13; Mohler 266.

<sup>95</sup> Petron. 29.4: *Hinc quemadmodum ratiocinari didicisset, dein dispensator factus esset. . . .* Cicero (*Rep.* 5.3.5) gives the minimum qualification: *dispensator litteras scit*.

had a similar career. The financial manager of the Armenian War in the time of Nero was a slave, whose name is not recorded but whose ability so impressed Nero that he manumitted him for the staggering price of 13,000,000 sesterces (Plin. *N.H.* 7.129). In the late second century a slave named Callistus was unsuccessful banker for his master Carpophorus, a Christian in the imperial household; despite reverses this same Callistus rose to be Pope (A.D. 217–22) — the only Pope of servile origin (Hippol. *Philosophumena* 9.12).

## V. PHYSICIANS

On slaves as doctors our earliest informant is Plato.<sup>96</sup> The Greeks held the profession of medicine in high esteem, and the doors of their medical schools in Cos, Cnidus, and elsewhere were closed to slaves. "The Athenians forbade slaves to learn the art of medicine," is the bald statement of Hyginus (*Fab.* 274.10); and this is probably true, subject to the following exception which Plato chances to mention. Practicing physicians needed and had semi-skilled assistants, some free men but mostly slaves, who were also by courtesy called doctors. These helpers picked up a good deal of the medical technique just by observation, experience, and by following their masters' orders; what they lacked was medical theory, scientific background, and logical understanding of what they were doing. The doctors permitted or even encouraged their helpers to offer medical treatment to slaves either in the homes or in the doctors' offices (*iatreia*); they were glad to have their burden lightened so that they could better attend to the needs of their free patients. Plato gives a lively portrayal of the bedside manner characteristic of a slave doctor treating a slave: "He writes him a secondhand prescription, with a cocksure air, issuing his orders like a tyrant whose will is law, and then rushes off to the next slave-patient."<sup>97</sup> Clearly Plato, like all the rest of the Greeks, respected only the *ιατρός ἐλεύθερος*.

Though Diogenes Cynicus, when sold into slavery to Xenocrates, remarked to his new master that even a slave, if he were a doctor, could command obedience from his lord (Diog. Laert. 6.30), we have

<sup>96</sup> Plat. *Legg.* 4.720; 9.857c–d. Speaking of physicians and *paidotribai* as potentially enslaved by Gorgian eloquence, Plato in the *Gorgias* (452e) was of course using *δοῦλον* metaphorically; Westermann (*The Slave Systems* etc. 13, note 43) erred in inferring from this passage that there were slave physicians and educators.

<sup>97</sup> Plat. *Legg.* 4.720c, slightly paraphrased by E. B. England in his commentary. Cf. Fritz Wehrli, "Der Arztvergleich bei Platon," *MusHelv* 8 (1951) 178 f.



no certain example of a slave in Greek lands giving medical treatment to his master or to other free men. Reinach, in his fine article on the doctor in antiquity, alleges the case of Aristogenes of Cnidus, slave of the philosopher Chrysippus, and physician of Antigonus Gonatas.<sup>98</sup> Here Reinach was following an unreliable notice in Suidas, where confusion is manifest in two articles on the same man. Aristogenes was a respected medical writer, mentioned repeatedly by Celsus and Galen, who offer no hint of what would have been a remarkable fact — that he had been a slave. A just conclusion, reached by Max Wellmann (*RE* 2.932), is that Aristogenes was not a slave of the philosopher Chrysippus but a pupil of the physician Chrysippus. One of the numerous manumission records of Delphi, of the *paramonê* type, shows that the new freedman Damon was obligated for five years to collaborate in medical practice with his manumittor Dionysius; this suggests but does not prove that Damon already in slavery had been trained for medical work.<sup>99</sup>

At Rome it was a different story. Senators and knights considered the medical profession quite beneath their dignity; literary men made merry over the quacks and invented the joke, repeated thereafter *ad nauseam*, that the doctors were in league with the undertakers; and stiff-necked Cato was not the only person who totally mistrusted the Greek doctors in Rome.<sup>100</sup> The moderate Roman view was stated with polite condescension by Cicero in the *De officiis* (1.42.151): "The professions such as medicine, architecture, and teaching of the liberal arts, which either involve a higher learning or are utilitarian to no small degree, are honorable for those to whose social status they are suited."

Thus the Roman upper classes relegated the practice of medicine to such humble people as slaves and freedmen. Reinach gave a correct summarization:

On peut dire, d'une manière générale, que les médecins grecs étaient pour la plupart des hommes libres, exerçant souvent en pays étranger ou dans

<sup>98</sup> S. Reinach, *DarSag* 3.1671 b.

<sup>99</sup> *SGDI* 2.1899, dated 155/4 by Daux, *Chronologie Delphique* (Paris 1943) 54. Marcus N. Tod, "Epigraphical Notes on Freedmen's Professions," *Epigraphica* 12 (1954) 3–26, observes on page 14: "Professions followed by freedmen and freedwomen, in many cases, no doubt, were learned and practised by them even before their emancipation." Westermann agrees: *The Slave Systems* etc. 13, note 24.

<sup>100</sup> The Elder Pliny (*N.H.* 29.11 and 13 ff.) pretty much agrees with the uncomplaining hostility voiced by Cato. He quotes the epitaph of an unfortunate victim: TVRBA MEDICORVM PERII.

des cités autres que la leur; mais que les médecins romains, sous la République et le Haut-Empire, étaient d'ordinaire des affranchis ou des esclaves, de nationalité ou d'origine hellénique.<sup>101</sup>

Turn to the Augustan Age and the imperial household. The personal physician of Augustus was a Greek freedman named Antonius Musa.<sup>102</sup> Besides Musa there was probably a whole coterie of *medici servi*, to one of whom Augustus refers in a letter written to his granddaughter Agrippina shortly before his death: "I'm sending a doctor from among my slaves, and I've written to Germanicus to keep him if he wants to."<sup>103</sup> Note that Augustus can readily spare this doctor permanently; surely this implies that there were a number of others on the staff.<sup>104</sup> Throughout the city in this period the doctors were ordinarily slaves, as Orosius gives us warrant to believe: "Now in the 48th year of Caesar's rule such a severe famine overtook the Romans that Caesar ordered the schools of gladiators, all the foreigners, and the great throngs of slaves, too, except the physicians and the teachers, to be expelled from the city."<sup>105</sup>

The large and wealthy Roman households, exactly like the imperial household, needed more than one medical slave. Thus the *Digest* (40.5.41.6) does not hesitate to posit two or more in a hypothetical testament: "Richard Roe made this provision in his will: 'I commend to you my doctors N and N; it will be for you to decide whether you want to have some good freedmen who are also doctors. But I was afraid that if I gave them freedom the same thing would

wish of their lords were instructed in the healing art."<sup>106</sup> In the *valetudinaria*, the masters thought, it was possible for the *medici servi* to gain clinical experience while dealing with *corpora vilia*; once the skill was acquired, the slaves could treat the master and the freeborn persons of the household. The slave assistants to the doctors, called *ὑπηρέται* by the Greeks<sup>107</sup> and *mediastini* by the Romans, worked in the *ιατρεία* or dispensaries; some of them thus learned enough to become independent practitioners. Thus Pliny speaks of medical *mediastini* who earned an income, apparently as medical masseurs.<sup>108</sup> Some doctors found it advisable to free their helpers but to keep them in their employ as freedmen. So the *Digest* says (38.1.25): "Likewise physicians generally take along freedmen helpers in their profession, whose services they cannot afford all the time except by hiring them out." Medical students, whether slave or free, also learned methodically as apprentices and by observing the teacher in his actual tending of the sick. Martial's readers remember how Dr. Symmachus was accompanied on his rounds by a "hundred" pupils, all of whom in turn felt the patient's pulse (5.9).

The professors of medicine who trained the slaves were not always of the most scrupulous, as we can learn from an indignant passage in Galen, which specifically denounces the charlatanism of Thessalus of Tralles in the reign of Nero. Physicians who excelled in flattery rather than in science, protested Galen, found an easy access to the homes of the wealthy, and there had many pupils from the favorite slaves when these had become *exoleti*. (These boys, we may pause to remark, were the pages and chamberlains who had been trained in the *paedagogia*, some of whom were their masters' *delicati*.)<sup>109</sup> "That fellow Thessalus," Galen continues, "not only flattered the

<sup>106</sup> Th. Puschmann, *A History of Medical Education*, trans. and ed. by Évan H. Hare (London 1891) 112.

<sup>107</sup> The term *ὑπηρέται* used by Plato (*Legg.* 4.720c) is corroborated by the Coan inscriptions, and the inscriptions distinguish between *ὑπηρέται* and *μαθηταί*: Herzog, s.v. "Arzt," *Reallex. f. Ant. u. Christ.* 1.721.

<sup>108</sup> Pliny (*N.H.* 29.4) says that Prodicus (*legendum* Herodicus) of Selymbria, by his invention of medical massage, *iatralepticè*, opened the way for later doctors to have money-earning slave anointers and rubbers. A tombstone at Carnuntum in Pannonia is for the physician Eucratas, slave of the physician L. Julius Euthemus: doubtless this is a case where the master had educated the slave to be his medical assistant: *L'Année Épig.* 1929, 215. The assistant might be a woman: Alcimus, physician of an emperor (perhaps Claudius), was patron and *καθηγητής* of a Roman *medica* named Restituta: *IGRR* I 283.

<sup>109</sup> References from Seneca, Petronius, the Elder Pliny, and Suetonius, *Nero* (collected by Mohler 269) all belong to the very period which Galen was discussing.

rich at Rome in general, but also readily got a great many pupils by promising to teach the art in six months!"<sup>110</sup>

The passage is important and revealing. In the apprentice contracts of Egypt, the minimum time to train a slave weaver was one year,<sup>111</sup> and no free boy's apprenticeship in a trade is known to have lasted for less than six months.<sup>112</sup> Is it any wonder that Galen, who had studied medicine for eleven years in four cities before undertaking to practice,<sup>113</sup> should revile Thessalus for pretending that he could train chamberlains as *medici servi* in half the time required to learn weaving? How could any true disciple of Hippocrates fail to remember the great aphorism: ὁ δὲ βίος βραχύς, ἡ δὲ τέχνη μακρὴ? The Elder Pliny, a scientist but not a medical man and not involved in intra-medical jealousies, also had only contempt for Thessalus (*N.H.* 29.5.3).

Now Galen clearly indicates that Thessalus was not unique; rather, he was only the most signal personage of a group. Sundry other Greek doctors in Rome, devotees of cupidity, were filling their coffers by teaching scraps of medical knowledge to bright young slaves from among the chamberlains, personal attendants, and quondam *delicati* of the Roman plutocracy. The epitaph of a certain freedman doctor of Asisium by its financial braggadocio unwittingly brands the deceased as the very sort of fellow at whom Galen was aiming his shafts. We may translate this epitaph in full, as the success story of a slave who was a spiritual kinsman of Trimalchio: "P. Decimius Eros Merula, freedman of Publius, clinical doctor, surgeon, oculist, sevir. He paid 50,000 (sesterces) for his freedom. He paid the government 2000 for his sevirate. He paid 30,000 for erecting statues in the temple of Hercules. He paid 37,000 into the public treasury for paving streets. He bequeathed, on the day before he died, a fortune of 800,000."<sup>114</sup> *Nec umquam philosophum audivit*, shall we add, in memory of Trimalchio.

<sup>110</sup> Galen, *Meth. medendi* 1.1 (X 4 Kühn). Thessalus was a leading figure in the Methodist school of medical theory, which Galen detested. Perhaps Galen was too hard on him personally, but the preposterousness of teaching the art of medicine in six months deserved a blast of criticism. Herzog (1013) calls attention to the unscientific astrologico-botanical letter of Thessalus, discussed by Cumont, *Rev. de philol. d'hist. et de litt. anc.* 42 (1918) 85–108, and Festugière, "L'expérience religieuse du médecin Thessalos," *Rev. Biblique* 48 (1939) 45–77.

<sup>111</sup> P. Mich. Inv. 5191 b.

<sup>112</sup> Zambon 45.

<sup>113</sup> Israel E. Drabkin, "On Medical Education in Greece and Rome," *Bull. Hist. Med.* 15 (1944) 333–51, see 337.

<sup>114</sup> *ILS* 7812. The date of the inscription is uncertain.

If this is part of the degeneracy that was rife under Nero, it continued for about three decades, until it was abruptly arrested in the year 93 or 94. The man who called the halt was the emperor Domitian, as was discovered only a few years ago, in 1935. This is the story.

In 1934 a broken marble stele lettered with two important inscriptions, one in Greek and the other in Latin, was discovered in the lower city of ancient Pergamum near the ruins of a building believed by the excavator, Theodor Wiegand, to be a gymnasium of the Roman era.<sup>115</sup> Noting that both inscriptions concerned doctors, Wiegand had the happy thought of entrusting the study and publication of the stone to Rudolf Herzog, a competent epigrapher, a seasoned investigator of ancient medical writings, and an honorary M.D. Herzog accepted and executed the commission with exemplary promptness, and his publication, though it has for twenty years been little heeded in America,<sup>116</sup> is of first-rate significance.<sup>117</sup>

Of the two documents it is the Latin one which immediately concerns us. It is a rescript of Domitian, addressed to the unknown A. Licinius Mucianus and Gavius Priscus between September 14, 93 and September 13, 94. The restoration of this text by Herzog has been subsequently approved by the Italian jurists Arangio-Ruiz and Riccobono, and is reprinted without change in their *Fontes*.<sup>118</sup> We present the Latin text, minus the formal words of address, and a translation.

#### DOMITIAN'S RESCRIPT

[Avaritiam medicorum atque] praeceptorum quorum ars, [tradenda ingenuis adulesc]entibus quibusdam, multis [in disciplinam cubiculariis] servis missis improbissime [venditur, non humanitatis sed aug]endae mercedis gratia, [severissime coercendam] iudicavi. [Quisquis ergo ex servorum disciplin]a mercedem [capiet, ei immunitas a divo patre meo indulta], proinde ac [si in aliena civitate artem exerceat, adim]enda [est].

<sup>115</sup> The Greek inscription, an edict of Vespasian, is called by Herzog the *Magna Carta* of ancient universities. Herzog (1018) rightly implies that the gymnasium, as an educational institution, was an appropriate spot for the posting of these two documents of imperial educational policy. And Pergamum, educational and cultural capital of Asia (Marrou 265, 294 f.; Esther V. Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon* [Ithaca 1947] 353-94), was wisely chosen as one place of publication.

<sup>116</sup> But see Drabkin (above, note 113) 347.

<sup>117</sup> For the full reference see above, note 6.

<sup>118</sup> S. Riccobono, *Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani*<sup>2</sup> (Florence 1941) 1, no. 77 (this volume was edited by Arangio-Ruiz).

## TRANSLATION

I have judged it necessary to curb by stringent measures the avarice of the physicians and teachers, whose profession, which ought to be transmitted only to a limited number of freeborn young men, is being most shamelessly sold to many slave chamberlains, who are admitted to professional training not out of humane sentiments but in order to augment their teachers' income. Therefore whoever shall derive pay from the instruction of slaves is to be deprived of the immunity granted by my deified father, just as if he were practicing his profession in a foreign city.

The motives of Domitian, or of whatever advisers prompted him to issue this rescript, are partly stated in the document: teaching and medicine both belonged among the liberal professions, and therefore should be in the hands of the few *ingenui*, and certainly should not be debased by being sold cheaply to large numbers of slaves. However sympathetic we may be with slaves, it is necessary to admit that in the context Domitian was right. Although the last of the Flavians was severe in legal regulations affecting slaves, as appears from three titles in the *Digest* (40.16.1, 48.3.2.1, 48.16.16), this rescript was primarily directed not against the slaves themselves but against those who for venal reasons taught the slaves a smattering. The emperor could not have wanted his fellow Romans to be cast on the mercy of *medici servi* who had been "educated" by charlatans in six months. "A little learning is a dangerous thing" — at least in medicine.

The personal physician of Domitian was a Greek freedman, L. Arruntius Sempronianus Asclepiades (*ILS* 1842), presumably a competent practitioner, whose position at court may have enabled him to gain the emperor's ear to urge higher standards of medical education. Herzog (1014) reasonably suggests that Domitian was directly or indirectly influenced by the respected and self-respecting Greek doctors of Rome:

Wir sehen nun, dass mit dem erstarkenden Einfluss der wissenschaftlichen griechischen Ärzte in Rom gegen Ende des I. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. eine gesunde Reaktion eintrat, die Domitian bzw. seine medizinischen und juristischen Ratgeber zu seinem Erlass veranlasste und von Galen, wie wir jetzt sehen, erst nach der Schlacht durch tönendes Pathos verstärkt wurde. Er kämpft gegen den toten Thessalos und Theon wie Tacitus, der jüngere Plinius, der alte Martial und Juvenal mutig gegen die toten Bösewichter des I. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.

The motivation of the edict may also stem from the fact that teachers and physicians in Rome enjoyed special legal privileges, of

which they were understandably jealous. These privileges, starting with the gift of citizenship by Julius Caesar,<sup>119</sup> had been extended by later emperors and most recently by Vespasian in the year 74, as appears from the edict inscribed on the same Pergamene stone with Domitian's rescript. There was reason for the juxtaposition of these two educational documents. The corps of free teachers and physicians, enjoying valuable privileges and immunities, were vehemently opposed to having their ranks swollen by ill-trained and unworthy practitioners. The privileges of course were not available to slaves, but the educated slaves often won freedom, and the wording of the imperial grants, unanimously failing to make any exception of freedmen, forces us to conclude that freedmen were privileged along with the free. It may have been easy to persuade Domitian that the simplest way to halt the encroachment on valuable privileges by the unworthy was to forbid the instruction of slaves in the liberal arts; and the fitting penalty for disobedience was the cancellation of the cherished privileges.

It is significant that, if Herzog's restoration of the inscription is correct, the slaves accepted for accelerated education were *cubicularii*. Any doubt about *cubicularii* being slaves was resolved many years ago, when Rostovtzeff found from *CIL* that among twenty-five *cubicularii* of the first century, twenty were slaves and only five were freedmen, although in later centuries these proportions were reversed.<sup>120</sup> Among the confidential freedmen of a paterfamilias Ulpian mentions in the same breath "a physician or a chamberlain."<sup>121</sup> Is it not possible that there were two reasons why chamberlains were good candidates for medical training? First, they were intelligent; otherwise they would not have been chosen as close personal attendants of the emperor and his house and of the Roman plutocrats. Second, their duties in the bedchamber may be supposed to have included minor and routine nursing duties, whereby they approached the fringe of medicine. On this point we have definite though limited evidence: an inscription on a funerary urn from the Appian Way, dated in the second century, honors the ashes of *Stephanus Aug. l. ab aegris cubuclarior(um)*.<sup>122</sup> Another

<sup>119</sup> Suet. *Iul.* 42.1. See the account of subsequent grants of privileges in Herzog 979 f.

<sup>120</sup> Rostovtzeff, *RE* 4.1734.

<sup>121</sup> *Digest* 38.2.14.7: *medicum aut cubicularium aut quem alium qui circa patrem fuerat*.

<sup>122</sup> *CIL* VI 8770, republished more fully and accurately VI 33749.

inscription is for *Parthenopæus ab aeg(ris)* (*CIL VI 8771*). The Olcott Epigraphical Dictionary, referring to these inscriptions, defines *ab aegris* as "male 'hospital-nurse' of the imperial house." The conclusion is certain that some chamberlains were specifically assigned to nursing duties.<sup>123</sup>

Reaching back into Hellenistic history, we may surmise that the late Greek monarchs had the same arrangement. Our earliest record of an archiater, originally published by Homolle in 1880, is a Delian inscription for the Antiochene Craterus, son of Craterus, at the court of Antiochus VII Sidetes (*regn.* 159–29).<sup>124</sup> This chief physician was also in charge of the queen's bedchamber — and therefore of her chamberlains. In the light of our studies, his two duties seem not unrelated.

How thoroughly and lastingly effective was the rescript of Domitian? The question is hard to answer, but seemingly the effect was immediate and lasting, even though, as we shall see, it was not universal. Before the discovery of the rescript scholars like Reinach had observed that in the second century and thereafter the recorded doctors of Rome were mostly no longer slaves but free men. The reason for this volte-face, necessarily unknown to Reinach and his contemporaries, is now apparent to us from the rescript. The systematic education of slaves for the medical profession had come to a halt.

The rescript made itself felt abroad and at home. Earlier in this paper we quoted a marriage contract of Oxyrhynchus<sup>125</sup> wherein the husband promised to give any children who might result from the union "the education suited to free children." Now in this marriage contract, which was made precisely in the time of Domitian, the clause just quoted is unique, as far as Grenfell and Hunt could ascertain. Perhaps the wording reflects a timely sensitivity to Domitian's fresh emphasis on a liberal education for the free and only for the free. In the palace the emperors were bound to set an example of adherence to the rescript. Trajan was the last emperor

<sup>123</sup> Alfenus Varus in the *Digest* (50.16.203) describes in general terms, not inconsistent with the above, the function of a master's *unctores, cubicularii, coci, ministratores*: *ad eius corpus tuendum atque ipsius cultum*.

<sup>124</sup> Homolle, *BCH* 4 (1880) 218; best edited now, with corrected data and commentary, in *Inscr. de Délos* 1547. By an oversight this Craterus appears twice in the same page and column of *RE* (11.1622, s.v. "Krateros"), in articles by Kind (3) and Gossen (5).

<sup>125</sup> *POxy.* 265; see above, p. 323.



whom we know to have had a freedman as chief physician in the imperial household. This was C. Calpurnius Asclepiades of Prusa (*ILS* 7789); born in the year 87, and being only six or seven years old when Domitian issued his rescript, he could not have received a medical education until after he was manumitted. The chief doctors of later emperors were free men, such as Galen for Marcus Aurelius and Oribasius for Julian. In the third century when Severus Alexander established salaries for teachers, physicians, and other men of learning, he authorized free rations (*annona*) for such of their students as were poor and freeborn (*SHA, Alex. Sev.* 44.4). This fidelity to Domitian's rescript was to be expected of an emperor who had among his legal advisers such towering jurists as Paulus and Ulpian. In keeping with Severus' policy was his choice of palace physicians: the seven on his staff were all free men, their leader on a salary and the others on double or triple *annona* (*ibid.* 42.3).

Countering the indications which have just been presented, there are tokens of imperfect obedience to Domitian's rescript. Outside and even inside the palace the continued existence, in diminished numbers, of *medici servi* and *medici liberti* is attested by authors, inscriptions, and laws. Secundus was a medical slave in the imperial household at Carthage in the second century,<sup>126</sup> and in the same period the African Apuleius had a medical slave Themison (*Apol.* 33). Julian (*Or.* 7.207D) alludes to the co-existence in the fourth century of free doctors and private medical slaves: "Freeborn doctors prescribe whatever is necessary; but if a person happens to be a slave by fortune's lot but a doctor by profession, he is in the ticklish situation of being obliged simultaneously to flatter and cure his master." St. Augustine (*C.D.* 22.8.3) tells an interesting story about a *medicus domesticus* of Innocentius, a Roman ex-magistrate at Carthage in the fourth century. Innocentius' doctor was a competent and honest person, in spite of his servile position; and indeed a pair of provisions in the *Code* of Justinian indicate that *medici servi* in the late empire were thoroughly trained. The *Code* (7.7.1.5a) sets the following prices for certain categories of slaves: unskilled, twenty *solidi*; skilled, up to thirty; a shorthand writer, up to fifty; and a doctor, up to sixty. For a female obstetrician (a skillful midwife) the price is the same as for a doctor (*ibid.* 6.43.3.1).

<sup>126</sup> *CIL* VIII 12923 (exact date indeterminable).

The *Lex Visigothorum*, originating in the fifth century and reflecting at many points the influence of Roman law, shows that the early medieval world had totally discarded the viewpoint of Domitian's rescript. Here is the pertinent provision of the Visigothic Law (11.1.7, ed. Zeumer, *MGH*): "If any physician takes a slave (*famulus*) under his instruction, he shall receive twelve *solidi* for his beneficial services." Domitian's rescript had become a dead letter.

The other prong of the rescript impaled the teachers, *praeceptores*. The word used in the edict of Vespasian on the same stone is *παιδευταί*. Since there is hardly any trace of slaves or ex-slaves who became rhetors, there is no doubt that Domitian referred essentially to the *grammatici*. Of slaves and freedmen among the *grammatici* there was a great abundance, as we have seen from Suetonius and other sources. Most of the *grammatici* were teachers, but millionaires might have a retinue of learned slaves as surrogates for their own ignorance. How the avarice of teachers could be gratified in educating such slaves to suit the king's taste we can gather a hint in Seneca.<sup>127</sup> Calvisius Sabinus, an early contemporary of Seneca, had great wealth and a bad memory, but his ambition was to impress people by his learning and culture. On the theory that money can buy anything, including knowledge, he had slaves trained (*faciendos locavit*), one in Homer, one in Hesiod, and one in each of the nine lyric poets; thereafter these slaves stood by him at dinners as deipnosophists, so to say, who kept him supplied with a running fire of poetic quotations with which he plagued his guests. Seneca says that Sabinus spent 1,100,000 sesterces on this knowledge by proxy; surely some teacher or teachers became suddenly rich.

We will assume that Calvisius Sabinus was unique in his foible, and yet other rich men exhibited folly that was less ridiculous without being wholly dissimilar. Galen (*Protr.* 6) rages at the wealthy fools who spend a great deal of money having their slaves taught the arts, while they themselves remain ignorant: τοὺς μὲν οἰκέτας ἐκδιδάσκονται τέχνας, πάνπολυ πολλάκις εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀργύριον ἀναλίσκοντες, ἐαυτῶν δὲ ἀμελοῦσι. "How shameful," he continues, "for a slave sometimes to be worth 10,000 drachmas, and his master not worth one!" Galen is here speaking in general of the liberal arts, in which he would obviously include medicine and literature; therefore, unless he was beating a dead dog, he silently testifies to the evasion of Domitian's rescript, less than a century after its promulgation.

<sup>127</sup> Sen. *Ep.* 27.5-8. Herzog called attention to the pertinence of the passage.

## VI. PHYSICAL EDUCATION

One topic remains, not a fruitful one for our purpose. A branch of education that the Greeks esteemed as important, liberal, and noble was the education of the body. The stern exclusion of slaves from the pleasures and benefits of physical education was an ancient and enduring policy on which the Greeks presented a united front. All Greeks before Alexander agreed with the spirit of the Solonian law: "A slave shall not take exercise or anoint himself in the palaestrae." The few deviations from this law in and after the Hellenistic Age were mostly violations only of the second clause — the anointing.

In Priene about 100 B.C. a magistrate, doubtless a gymnasiarch, was honored for opening the gymnasium, at least for distributions of anointing-oil and sacrificial meat, "even to those who through ill fortune have no share in the gymnasium."<sup>128</sup> A few years later the gymnasiarch Zosimus of Priene shared the gymnasium "even with those forbidden by legal stipulation to share it."<sup>129</sup> Zosimus' friendly attitude toward slaves was further shown when he distributed sacrificial meat to his fellow magistrates, to the senators, the runners in the long race, the teachers attached to the gymnasium, and to the public slaves.

Comparable to these documents of Priene are two of Argos. In the principate of Claudius or later, Tiberius Claudius Diodotus could vaunt that he was the first and only man who distributed oil in the gymnasia and baths to slaves and free men (*IG IV* 606). If Diodotus was first, he found a successor in the time of Trajan, when Onesiphorus at his own expense distributed oil unstintingly in every gymnasium and bath from dawn to sunset to every free man and slave.<sup>130</sup>

Under the Antonines one Phaenia, surnamed Bomation, gave the Laconian city of Gythium 8000 denarii as an endowment to guarantee the free distribution of oil in the city's gymnasium. In the legal stipulation of the endowment we read: "And I wish the slaves also to share in the benefit of the anointing, for six days annually, with no archon or councilman or gymnasiarch preventing

<sup>128</sup> *Inscr. Prien.* 123, as interpreted by the editor, Hiller von Gärtringen. Note the apologetic periphrasis for "slaves" and the humane implication that they deserve a better lot.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.* 112, lines 95–100 and 110–12.

<sup>130</sup> *IG IV* 597, dated under Trajan by Westermann, s.v. "Sklaverei," *RE Suppl.* 6.1051.

them from being anointed."<sup>131</sup> The latter clause correctly implies that the officials thus named generally had the duty of excluding slaves from the privileges of the gymnasium, in Gythium as elsewhere.

Asclepiades at Dorylaeum in Phrygia was another benefactor of slaves, this time under Hadrian. At his own expense he served as "gymnasiarch of free men and slaves, from daybreak to nightfall, with small measures of oil from the basins" (*OGIS* 479). Again the slaves were restricted to the anointing; nothing more. The same story again in an unidentifiable Macedonian city, A.D. 211: a woman gave the city 10,000 Attic drachmas to supply gymnasium-oil to citizens, foreigners, and slaves during a three-day festival.<sup>132</sup>

In 6 B.C. in Alexandria a club (*σύνοδος*), composed mostly of slaves of the emperor Augustus and created for the purpose of worshipping him, had a gymnasiarch among the officials.<sup>133</sup> Certainly such a club had no gymnasium, but it may have been able to satisfy its craving for gymnastic oil.

All the foregoing instances show slaves getting the merest nibble. Men of wealth and good will pride themselves on letting slaves see the inside of the gymnasium, for a free distribution of gymnastic oil. Was there no more than that? In rare instances there was.

The ample treasures of the Zenon correspondence have disclosed Zenon's close interest in the education of two boys, one named Heracleotes, the other Pyrrhus. Heracleotes in a memorandum to Zenon and a certain Nestor twice particularized that he was a free boy, being trained as a professional, money-earning cithara player.<sup>134</sup> Pyrrhus, who was receiving a general education (*μαθήματα*, including *γράμματα*) and an intensive training for athletic competition, is not designated as free, and both Rostovtzeff and Préaux have categorized him as a slave.<sup>135</sup> We have two letters addressed to Zenon in

<sup>131</sup> *IG* V 1. 1208, lines 38–41 (between 161 and 169 A.D.).

<sup>132</sup> D. Detschev, *Bull. de l'Inst. arch. bulgare* 13 (1939) 190–94, reported by C. B. Welles, *AJA* 52 (1948) 277, and J. and L. Robert, "Bulletin Epigraphique" (in *REG*) 1948, no. 112; 1949, no. 99. The stone was found in Sveti Vrach on the middle Strymon.

<sup>133</sup> *BGU* 1137; Wilcken, *Chrest.* 112.

<sup>134</sup> P. Lond. Inv. 2096, discussed by H. I. Bell, *Raccoltà Lumbroso* (Milano 1925) 3–22.

<sup>135</sup> *PCairoZenon* 59060 = Hunt-Edgar, *Select Pap.* (*LCL*) no. 88 (257/6 B.C.). See also *PSI* 443, of the same year, a memorandum from Pyrrhus to Zenon complaining about arrears in provisions and oil for use in the palaestra. Préaux 769 identified with Pyrrhus the "boy" mentioned in *PSI* 340, where we read: *ἀπόστειλον δ' ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ*

257/6 by Hierocles, director of the palaestra in Alexandria, on the educational progress of Pyrrhus. The letter (*PCairoZenon* 59060) that seems to be the earlier of the two shows that Zenon had made anxious inquiry about Pyrrhus, ordering his athletic training to continue if Hierocles was sure that he would be a winner, but otherwise to save the expense and avoid possible interference with his book-studies (γράμματα). Hierocles replied that only the gods could guarantee future athletic victories for Pyrrhus, but that the trainer Ptolemaeus considered him much better than the other trainees who had a head start over him — and this even though his book-studies were not being neglected. Thus, Hierocles continues to Zenon, “I hope that *you* will win the garland.” Perhaps this remark is very significant. It had been unknown and unthinkable in Greek civilization that a slave should be allowed to enter athletic competition. Now that Ptolemaic Egypt, through Zenon, the powerful agent of Ptolemy’s *dioecetes* Apollonius, ventures to lower the bars slightly, the plan is to credit a slave’s athletic victory to his owner. Suppose Pyrrhus wins: the official announcer will proclaim: νικᾷ ὁ Ζήνων.

In spite of Hierocles’ cautiously optimistic report, Zenon felt dissatisfied with the training of Pyrrhus, and a second letter (*ibid.* 59098), seriously mutilated, shows Hierocles acknowledging Zenon’s intention to send Pyrrhus to another teacher.

The foregoing interpretation of the documents about Pyrrhus finds corroboration elsewhere in the Zenon correspondence. On June 12, 250 B.C., Rhodon wrote to the *hoplomachos* Paramonus and the *παιδάρια* about “various purchases which Paramonus had commissioned him to make, three choes of honey, a mattress for which he had given earnest-money without as yet obtaining the article, and a pig for the festival of Arsinoe.”<sup>136</sup> This *hoplomachos* was very likely a fencing teacher, as in the schools of Athens and elsewhere, and the *παιδάρια* would be boys receiving his training, as Edgar noted in his editorial comments. Again we may interpret *παιδάρια* as “slaves,” the ordinary signification in the papyri.

And here is an undated letter (*PCairoZenon* 59488) from Paramonus to Zenon: “Paramonus to Zenon, greetings. When you were in town I forgot to talk to you about strigils. Now since they are cheap in Memphis, buy me some of the finest to be had, of Sicyonian

παιδάριον δ ἐδείκνυσεν μοι, ἵνα προσάγωμεν καὶ τοῦτον πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα. See also M. Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B.C.* (Madison 1922) 172–74.

<sup>136</sup> Quoting C. C. Edgar in his discussion of the letter, *PCairoZenon* 59298.

workmanship, six for men and six for boys. Also get an artab and a half of dry capers, not old, but as fresh as possible. Farewell." A coach or instructor in any aspect of physical training needed a supply of strigils for scraping the olive oil off the body at the end of the exercise period, in conjunction with the bath. Since Paramonus was evidently training slaves at Zenon's behest, he had a right to requisition supplies.

The conclusion drawn from these several items of the Zenon correspondence is that Zenon and Nestor were investing capital in the education and athletic training of selected boys, some of whom were slaves. Now such a policy might be calculated to please the reigning monarch, Ptolemy Philadelphus, who was a zealous promoter of Greek festivals, athletic and otherwise, and founder of one such festival, the Ptolemaea. Furthermore, as Préaux suggests, Zenon and Nestor may have had a commercial objective, for Philadelphus had granted an immunity — exemption from the salt tax — to all victors in the Ptolemaea, as well as to elementary teachers and gymnastic teachers (*paidotribai*), and to their descendants.<sup>137</sup> The salt tax applied to slaves at half-rate, and at full rate to all adult men and women who were not specifically exempted by the king.<sup>138</sup>

Turning now from Ptolemaic Egypt to the Roman Empire, we again discover scattered traces of physical education for slaves. Epictetus, who was well acquainted with Roman customs, noted that it was possible for a wealthy lord to purchase a slave *paidotribes* to direct his own program of exercises; and the *Digest* refers to *unctores* who help care for the master's body.<sup>139</sup> In Rome the school for slaves *ad Caput Africae* had an *unctor* — equivalent to the Greek ἀλείπτῃς — who directed physical training in addition to giving oil rubs.<sup>140</sup> Pliny's Laurentine villa had a gymnasium for his slaves,<sup>141</sup> and the school *ad Caput Africae* could scarcely have had less. A Beneventan epitaph describes an eighteen-year-old slave who was the cupbearer and pet of his master (therefore a typical product of the *paedagogium* or page-school) as *doctus palaestrae*

<sup>137</sup> *PHal.* 1 (*Dikaionmata*), lines 260–64, a regulation promulgated by Philadelphus between 259 and 253 B.C., just prior to the Zenon documents discussed above. See Préaux 766. In 251/0 Zenodorus made a very prompt report to Zenon when his brother Dionysius won a victory at the Ptolemaea in Hiera Nesos: *PSI* 364.

<sup>138</sup> S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (Princeton 1938) 184 and 432, note 6.

<sup>139</sup> Epict. 4.1.117; *Digest* 50.16.203.

<sup>140</sup> *CIL* V 1039 (Aquileia, but naming Heliodorus as *unctor ad Caput Africae*).

<sup>141</sup> Plin. *Ep.* 2.17.7; Mohler 272.

*puer*.<sup>142</sup> One of Trimalchio's guests noticed in a portico of his house a bevy of couriers (*grex cursorum*) being exercised by a trainer,<sup>143</sup> and two epitaphs from the burial ground of the imperial slaves and freedmen at Carthage commemorate such physical trainers of couriers — both the trainer and the couriers being slaves.<sup>144</sup>

Finally, an inscription of an unidentified Pisidian city, dating in the second century of our era or later, gives various regulations for a local athletic meet, including the following: "If a slave has the good luck to win, a fourth of the prize money shall go to his fellow competitors."<sup>145</sup> This is a unique record of slaves' being allowed to compete in Greek athletic games, although the Zenon documents presuppose such competition, and even here a slave victor may get only a reduced prize, so that those who lose to a slave may be consoled by sharing in the prize money. Truly the penetration of slaves into physical education was pitifully slight and hedged by legal restrictions and disabilities. Ulpian, interpreting the Lex Aquilia in reference to fatalities in athletic competition, says: Hoc autem in servo non procedit; quoniam ingenui solent certare (*Digest* 9.2.7.4).

But there was one formidable sort of physical training which was wide open to the lowly, for a large percentage of the gladiators in the Roman world were slaves. Gladiatorial schools (*ludi*), which have been so often discussed in detail that they need not detain us in the present essay,<sup>146</sup> were systematically organized in buildings of which some, as at Pompeii, are still identifiable. The drill in sword-play and in handling the net, trident, and other weapons was strenuously carried on under a corps of specialists rivaling the multiple coaches of a modern football team: *doctor myrmillonum*, *magister Samnitium*, *doctor oplomachorum*, and many more. In the *ludi gladiatorii* of Rome, Capua, Pompeii, Alexandria, the Asian cities, and elsewhere,

<sup>142</sup> *CIL* IX 1880 = *ILS* 5170.

<sup>143</sup> Petron. 29.7. Compare Trimalchio's *tabellarius* in 79.6 and Schroff, *RE* 4A. 1846, s.v. "Tabellarius."

<sup>144</sup> *CIL* VIII 12622: Primus Caes(aris) n(ostris) servus exerchitator (*sic*) cursorum (late first or early second century); *ibid.* 12904: Campester Aug. doctor cursorum (second century). The *exerchitator* and *doctor* were considered identical by Mommsen, *CIL* VIII p. 1337.

<sup>145</sup> The inscription was found by J. R. S. Sterrett and published in *PASAt* 3 (1888) 167, no. 275. The site was Fassiller. See the republication and discussion by E. N. Gardiner, "Regulations for a Local Sports Meeting," *CR* 43 (1929) 210-12.

<sup>146</sup> See especially G. Lafaye, *DarSag* 2.1578-83.

thousands of slaves were "educated" in this fashion so that they might later be butchered in the arena.

## VII. EPILOGUE

The reader of the preceding pages has realized that it is easier to discern the results than the processes of servile education in antiquity. About educated slaves we know much, and far more than has been told here; but after all our careful combing of the literary, legal, papyrological, and epigraphic sources we still know disappointingly little about the teachers, schools, and methods that made it possible for slaves to acquire a limited or even a thorough education.

Apprenticeship introduced many slaves to manual trades and even to shorthand and professional instrumental music. The well-organized *paedagogia* of imperial Rome prepared skilled domestics, dining-room personnel, pages, and chamberlains; and many of these bright and literate members of the *familia urbana* could by independent reading, private study, and alert receptivity gradually extend their education until they were capable of assuming positions of great responsibility and power as freedmen in the mansions, the palace, and the governmental bureaus of the Roman Empire. Capitalists like Crassus and Atticus employed teachers to educate slaves systematically as an investment, and on the slave market such capitalists could offer home-trained readers, secretaries, and business managers.

Slave assistants or quasi-apprentices of the physicians learned by doing, quite in harmony with John Dewey's educational philosophy, but the results were unsatisfactory; and a chorus of criticism arose not only from the satirists and the recalcitrant Cato, but also from the scientist Pliny and the great medical leader, Galen. Domitian by imperial rescript stopped the education of slaves for the medical profession; but this rescript, sometimes evaded, often forgotten, and finally discarded, did not become part of the living blood-stream of Roman law.

No researcher can name a single slave lawyer or slave athlete in antiquity. Rome, esteeming the law as the highest of all professions, allowed no slave to enter a law school or otherwise acquire legal training. Greece, regarding the education of the body as a noble and indispensable part of liberal education, divinely blessed and patronized by Hermes and Heracles, jealously reserved the gymnasium for Greeks or for the oecumenical Greeks of the Hellenistic



Age, and allowed none save freeborn Greeks to be competitors in the Olympic Games.

Again we recur to Seneca's point that masters had not the slightest legal obligation to educate their slaves. Nevertheless scores of thousands of slaves were educated in a wide variety of lower and higher occupations. Rarely humanitarianism, but enlightened self-interest regularly put slaves to school, and their schooling had good results for the ancient world. *Servi? Immo homines.*